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Washington Letters

TO THE

Vermont Journal, Connecticut Courant, N.Y. Tribune, Iron Age,
Buffalo Express, North American & United States Gazette,
Virginia State Journal, North Carolina Union Banner,
Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, S. Carolina Leader,
Missouri Democrat, Nemaha Courier,
Atchison Free Press,
Rocky Mountain News, and San Francisco American Flag,

BY

D. D. CONE, President

OF

THE UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION.

Eighth Edition.



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WASHINGTON.

1867.

INTRODUCTION.

THESE letters having already appeared in the North American and United States Gazette; Missouri Democrat; Buffalo Express; Connecticut Courant; Vermont Journal; Iron Age; Virginia State Journal; South Carolina Leader; Atchison Free Press; North Carolina Union Banner; Brownlow's Knoxville Whig; New York Tribune; Nemaha, Kansas, Courier; Rocky Mountain News; San Francisco Flag, and other leading journals, the present publication may, perhaps, be deemed superfluous. There are so many facts, however, embraced in them, that the issue of this edition has been deemed advisable by friends of the industrial interests.

Among the commendatory letters received by the author, are the two following, from E. B. Ward, Esq., President of the American Iron and Steel Association, and Hon. R. E. Trowbridge, member of Congress from Michigan.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, March 16, 1867.

D. D. CONE, Esq.

Dear Sir—Your pamphlet (letters on the tariff) is received. It is a compendium of well arranged facts favoring protection; and if generally read, would do a world of good.

Very respectfully,

E. B. WARD.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, July 10, 1867.

D. D. CONE, Esq.:

Dear Sir—I have carefully read your pamphlet, (letters on the subject of American labor, seventh edition,) and have been much gratified with the plain, yet very able manner in which you treat the subject.

I wish a copy of this pamphlet might be placed in the hands of every man in the Northwest, for it is to the people of that region that this subject is one of vital importance.

There every element which enters into the various manufactured articles is produced; and why these various elements should be transported four thousand miles and return to be combined into an article which is to be consumed on the very spot where produced is to me incomprehensible. I trust you will go on with your good work of calling the public attention to this subject.

Yours, truly,

R. E. TROWBRIDGE, M. C.

FROM THE
North American and U. S. Gazette.

A Letter to Hon. B. GRATZ BROWN, United States
Senator from Missouri.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31, 1867.

SIR—The bill to provide increased revenue from imports, and for other purposes, being before the Senate on the 29th instant, you are reported by yesterday's *Globe* to have said:

"This question as it stands is, in very truth, a question not so much of protection as it is a question of prohibition. It is to exclude from importation, and thereby to reduce the revenue derived from the tariff; not to increase that revenue by larger collections on imports, thereby to enable us to reduce the taxes on internal productions.

"I am perfectly familiar with the argument which has been adduced all along, that if you will only give protection to manufacturers you will thereby build them up and enable them to reduce the price of those articles which they manufacture: but it is a singular characteristic of this whole scheme, as now presented in national legislation, that you find to-day all these manufacturers, which for twenty years you have been building up, asking higher rates of duty than they did in their infancy. You find the manufacturers that go into all the uses of domestic life, such as the iron manufacturers, the wool manufacturers, the worsteds and cottons and chemicals, asking higher rates of prohibitory duty than they have ever asked heretofore. If that is to be the result of a continuation of protection, I think the sooner we get rid of the system the better. At all events, I think it is a very conclusive argument, going to show that there is no truth in what is alleged is its general tenor and effect.

"I think, sir, that a system of prohibition such as we are asked to enact here to-day is neither more nor less than a legalized plunder. It is a wrongful taking out of the pockets of one man to put in the pockets of another. It is making lawful that which every morality condemns as wrongful. It is statutory theft and pillage. That is my judgment about the whole prohibitory system. We have just emerged, Mr. President, from a long and exciting conflict, in which we have labored to get rid of one system of oppression. We have abolished slavery, in so far as it relates to personal bondage, but, sir, in my opinion, the measure now before you in its principle, and to a very large extent in its applications, is neither more nor less than the incipient re-establishment of slavery in another shape. It is a slavery to capital, a servitude which will be just as onerous, just as trying to this nation, and just as productive of evil consequences to the oppressed classes and sections as ever was any other form or type of slavery."

Commencing with your first proposition, that the bill now before Congress is of a prohibitory character, you will pardon me for inviting your attention to the following well established facts :

Smelted copper, the product of our American mines, pays into the national treasury a tax of three dollars and fifty-five cents per hundred pounds. The bill now before you fixes the tax on the same product from foreign mines, imported to compete with the consumers of American farm products, at only three dollars per hundred pounds : thereby giving the foreign product an advantage of fifty-five cents per hundred over our own.

As with copper, so with iron, in its various stages of manufacture. The rates fixed in the bill now before you are actually less than the internal tax, direct and indirect, collected on home productions.

The American farmer bears cheerfully his share of the burden of tax made necessary by the slave-holders' rebellion. Surely you cannot insist that BARLEY, IMPORTED into this country, shall pay less than twenty cents per bushel, the rate of tax fixed by the new bill.

The average rates of direct and indirect internal tax paid by the wool-growers throughout the United States cannot be less than the proposed rates in the new bill *on foreign grown wool*. You certainly cannot for an instant entertain the idea of discriminating against the wool-growers of this country, as you will if the bill now before you fails to become a law.

You will pardon me for calling your attention to the error you have fallen into in ascribing the present inflations of prices to what you are pleased to term "the result of a continuation of protection."

The last report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows the balance of trade to have been against us to the amount of \$100,000,000 during the past fiscal year, and though the country's product of gold has been since

1858 not less than \$1,100,000,000, it is not probable that the stock of gold and silver in the United States is larger now than eighteen years ago.

Our debt to Europe is now estimated by the same authority at not less than \$600,000,000. Showing but \$100,000,000 invested in railway securities, it leaves an indebtedness of \$500,000,000, for which we have nothing to show.

*In my letter of 24th March last, published in several of our leading journals, I stated that :**

“Three million six hundred and eighty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty dollars (\$3,686,920) worth of foreign dry goods were thrown into the New York market during the week ending the 22d of February.

“Fifty-one million seven hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and fifty-six (51,771,356,) yards of cotton and woolen cloths, were imported into this country from England alone, during the month of November last.

“About ninety hundred thousand (\$9,000,000) dollars worth of iron and steel was imported into this country, during the year ending the 30th of June last.

“A large portion of these goods must be paid for either in gold or U. S. bonds, at about 25 per cent. below par, and nine per cent. interest.

“Now, I may be permitted to ask, what part of the gold and bonds that our policy forces us to send these wealthy British manufacturers will be paid in turn to American workmen, to be again paid to American farmers for food, and American manufacturers for clothing?

“Great Britain has promised; time and again, to take our grain in full payment for all the goods, wares, and merchandise we purchased of her. But she has not kept her promise in this or any other respect. Whilst pressing her goods upon our market,

*Published in the Vermont Journal; Hartford Courant; Buffalo Express; Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette; Virginia State Journal; Charleston, South Carolina, Leader; North Carolina Union Banner; Brownlow's Knoxville Whig; Missouri Democrat; Kansas Courier; Atchison Free Press; Rocky Mountain News, and San Francisco Flag.

invading the duties by false invoices, and corrupting the venal members of our Government, she bought her breadstuffs chiefly elsewhere. She could buy a little cheaper from the Danubian Principalities, where the boors subsisted on black bread and worked for a compensation even lower than that doled out to British operatives: or from Egypt, where the half-naked fellah gathered luxuriant crops when the Nile floods were favorable: or from the fields of little Portugal, whose people have been vassals of England since the treaty of Methuen, and have been kept in poverty by an abject dependence on British manufacturers.

“When it is considered that the American manufacturer is the American farmer’s best and only really good customer, it is readily seen that their interests are identical. When it is considered that from seventy-five to ninety-five per cent. of the cost of American manufactured goods is paid for American labor, to be paid in turn for American food and clothing, it is difficult to account for the apathy exhibited by many of our members of Congress upon this all important subject.

“The effect of this gigantic importation of the products of foreign labor, foreign food and capital, is seen by the reports of the Iron and Steel Association at their meeting at Chicago, in May last, and confirmed at their meeting in this city on the 28th of last month. Out of nine blast furnaces in the STATE OF MISSOURI, making annually about fifty thousand tons when in full blast, only three of them are in operation. Of four blast furnaces near Detroit, only one is in operation. Pittsburg has twenty-five rolling mills, with a capacity of producing three hundred thousand tons of finished iron and nails per annum: only about one-fourth of them are in operation: only two of the five blast furnaces in the same city being in operation. Reports from New York and other districts represented in the convention showed a similar depressed condition, with hardly an exception.

“A comparison between the two past years shows a decrease of over thirty per cent. in the production of iron in the United States. Of 148 furnaces and rolling mills reported, only 86 are in operation, leaving 62 of our largest American iron works idle, while the furnaces of Great Britain are all in full blast, thus throwing thousands of American workmen out of employment.

“Let it be remembered in this connection that *one hundred thousand employed* workmen in the American manufactories furnish a market for more American farm produce than the whole British nation. With our unemployed workmen the case is different; they crowd other avenues of employment, especially the agricultural, where instead of being purchasers they become competitors.”

You were, Mr. Senator, for many years, an editor of a leading daily newspaper. In that business you enjoyed an absolute monopoly. By no possible means could a St. Louis newspaper be manufactured in a foreign country to be imported into this. The only competition you had to contend with was at home.

The control of the domestic market was thus secured to you beyond peradventure by a law of necessity that can never be repealed. In no possible case could the balance of trade in daily newspapers be against you. Such being the case, did prices advance?

On the contrary, the newspaper proprietors of the country being secure from the untaxed competition from abroad, find that the effect of a well regulated home competition is to bring the price of newspapers within the reach of all.

But the exclusive monopoly of the home market enjoyed by the newspaper manufactures is not asked for by the manufacturers of any other product.

Give them but an equal chance in their own markets with their foreign competitors, like that contemplated in the bill now before Congress, and you can rest assured that a steady home competition will bring prices to the lowest living rates.

Mr. Senator—We have just emerged from a long conflict, in which we have, at an expense of five hundred thousand lives, and ten thousand million dollars, abolished American slavery.

The share you bore in the conflict is one that any man

may be justly proud of. But the policy you now advocate, if fully adopted by our Government, will reduce the laborer in our mines and manufactories to a condition as deplorable as that of the same classes in England, Ireland, or Siberia.

It will bring our western farmers into direct competition with the half-naked barbarians of South America.

Without disrespect, I may say that your policy will, so sure as night follows day, reduce our whole laboring population to a condition of servitude but little better than that from which we have, at so great a cost, but partially rescued the blacks of our country.

With great respect, I have the honor to remain

Your obedient servant, D. D. CONE.

To Hon. B. GRATZ BROWN, U. S. S.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Correspondence PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN AND U. S. GAZETTE.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13, 1867.

The lobbies of Congress and the hotels fairly swarm with agents of the British manufacturing interest, who button-hole members at every turn, introducing dissensions at every opportunity, and with most devilish assurance sowing falsehood broadcast.

These brilliant conversationalists are directing their energies particularly against our iron interest. They deeply sympathize with our trans-Mississippi railway enterprises, representing that those roads are with great difficulty supplied with iron from the distant markets of Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, Chicago, and Western Pennsylvania, and therefore should be supplied

from the more convenient market of Great Britain. It seems almost incredible that such representation should be for one instant entertained, much less believed; but strange as it may seem, they are actually made the basis of legislation affecting the interests of millions.

We are gravely told that English railroad iron can be brought from British ports "all the way to Omaha, Nebraska, by steam vessels; while American iron must be transported by railroad from the interior of Pennsylvania to Omaha, at great expense and much delay." Of course these well-paid falsifiers omit to state that iron can be shipped from Pittsburg to Omaha all the way by water, *without change* of vessels, saving thereby three thousand miles of transportation and two transshipments. We are told that a given amount of English iron will pay so much revenue into the national treasury, as though the same amount of American iron would pay less revenue, to say nothing of the entire profit of manufacturing distributed at home instead of abroad.

We are supplied with tables showing the cost of iron in England and Colorado, and the fact that American iron is higher in the latter place than English iron is at home, is urged as a reason why we should adopt a policy that looks to the use of English iron among us altogether.

The principal occupation of the free trade agent is to inveigh against what he is pleased to term our protective; or "prohibitory" policy; falsely asserting for the one hundred thousandth time that our present condition is the result of the continuation of a protective policy.

Now I don't think space wasted in proving the falsity of such statements.

What are the facts of the case? We have not had a protective policy for at least eighteen years past, during which period the real balance of trade with foreign

nations has been against us, on an average, of one hundred millions per annum, (\$100,000,000.)

This enormous amount represents the sum that we, as a nation, have bought abroad over and above the amount sold, to be paid for in gold and national notes, with interest.

It is admitted, that though the products of California gold mines have not been less than \$1,100,000,000, there is no more gold in the United States at present time than eighteen years ago. To this sum add \$700,000,000 bonds' indebtedness abroad, contracted during the period, and you have the \$1,800,000,000.

The following table shows the total loss to the capital wealth of the United States, during the past eighteen years, by the exportation of specie and bonds, and the increase each year upon capital wealth of 8.5 per cent. compound interest, being the average annual increase of United States wealth from 1850 to 1860, as given by the census.

CAPITAL WEALTH EACH YEAR.				
Capit'l wealth added each year.	Previous capital wealth and increase thereon.	Total capital wealth capable of increase each year.	Increase upon cap'l wealth 8.5 per cent. each year.	Total capital wealth lost to the republic each year.
		100,000,000	8,500,000	108,500,000
100,000,000	108,500,000	208,500,000	17,722,500	226,222,500
100,000,000	226,222,500	326,222,500	27,728,912	353,951,412
100,000,000	353,951,412	453,951,412	38,585,870	492,537,282
100,000,000	492,537,282	592,537,282	50,365,668	642,902,950
100,000,000	642,902,950	742,902,950	63,116,750	806,019,700
100,000,000	806,019,700	906,019,700	77,014,224	983,063,924
100,000,000	983,063,924	1,083,063,924	92,060,433	1,175,124,357
100,000,000	1,175,124,357	1,275,124,357	108,385,570	1,383,509,927
100,000,000	1,383,509,927	1,483,509,927	126,098,343	1,609,608,270
100,000,000	1,609,608,270	1,709,608,270	145,316,702	1,854,924,972
100,000,000	1,854,924,972	1,954,924,972	166,168,622	2,121,903,594
100,000,000	2,121,903,594	2,221,903,594	188,792,955	2,409,886,549
100,000,000	2,409,886,549	2,509,886,549	213,340,356	2,723,226,905
100,000,000	2,723,226,905	2,823,226,905	239,974,286	3,063,201,191
100,000,000	3,063,201,191	3,163,201,191	268,872,101	3,432,073,292
100,000,000	3,432,073,292	3,532,073,292	300,226,229	3,832,299,521
100,000,000	3,832,299,521	3,932,299,521	334,215,459	4,266,514,980

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds indebtedness contracted during past eighteen years....	\$700,000,000
Gold and silver exported same period	1,100,000,000
Balance against United States.....	\$1,800,000,000
Total increase in 18 years, taking census authority.....	2,466,544,980
Total loss United States Capital wealth 18 years.....	\$4,266,544,980

Our illustrated journals are filled with accounts of a wonderful industrial exposition now in preparation in Paris, and expressions of surprise that similar buildings are not in course of construction in some city in the United States.

I respectfully submit the above table to all such inquiries. If a small moiety of the four thousand million dollars in money and interest that our people have sent to Europe had been retained at home, perhaps there might have been a similar exposition in some American city.

At the Paris Industrial Exposition, the United States have space allotted.....	square feet	10,978
Italy.....	"	13,756
German States.....	"	74,184
Russia.....	"	9,564
Great Britain.....	"	75,467

It will be seen that the industrial interests of Germany are estimated at over six times the importance of those of the United States. The managers wisely judging that a nation which run in debt four thousand million dollars in eighteen years could not have much to show of its own productions.

D. D. C.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Correspondence PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN AND U. S. GAZETTE.

WASHINGTON, May 19, 1866.

Had that magnificent pedler, Sir Morton Peto, but known that two-thirds of the newspaper correspondents in this city were desirous of doing his work gratis, he might have saved the expense and trouble of making a

book to prove free trade good for America, and protection the very thing for England.

Excepting your correspondent and a few others, all the gentlemen of the press in this city are either in full sympathy with the intriguers against our industrial interests or strangely oblivious to their course. Else why has Congress been encouraged to delay the reduction of the crushing war tax until too late to take effect this year? And now that the outrageously delayed Revenue bill has at length seen the light, why is there not a greater reduction made?

The fact ought not to be longer disguised that the last and present Congress have both neglected our industrial interests in the most shameful and inexcusable manner. And now that the subject is before it, members are frittering away time in discussing details, having passed entirely over the principal question, whether an overtaxed or lightly taxed nation raises a revenue the easiest.

The Special Commission for examining the sources of national revenue, and the means of collecting the same, have been over the whole ground, and clearly pointed how and where the burden of our internal taxation was terribly oppressive to our industrial interests, almost without exception making us the heaviest taxed nation on the face of the earth—paying a tax of some sixteen dollars per head to our total population—one-third greater than that paid by Great Britain, and double that paid by the French people.

The Commission did not rest here, however; they clearly pointed out the means by which Congress might at once relieve the people of the most burdensome and crushing features of the war tax, without endangering the revenues of our country. But Congress has, in its wisdom, seen fit to delay this all important subject, five and one-half precious months, using, meanwhile, “the

contumacy of the President'' as a cloak to cover up its own sins of omission.

I am very well aware that I am laying myself liable to the terrible charge of "copperheadism"—of "trying to make favor with the President," and other similar charges which are freely hurled at any daring Republican who insinuates that Congress is to be held responsible for anything. But the lobby schemes on foot in this city for depleting the national treasury of hundreds of millions—the reports from all parts of the country of hard times, high prices of living, with incommensurate means of obtaining it, all impel me to enter this protest against the ruinous delay on the part of Congress of a duty which might, could, and should have been performed in December last.

The Republican policy of 1861 has been neutralized by the internal revenue tax made necessary by the Democratic rebellion, by the bonded warehouse system, and kindred inventions of the enemy. It is high time that our Republican Congress should extricate our industrial interests from their present perilous position. We cannot remain where we are; we must go forward or backward. Upon this point Mr. Senator Sprague, in his speech of February 17, says:

"Sir, the measure that is endeavored to be perpetuated upon the industry of the country is one of the same system and plans that produced the monopoly of slavery upon your political system. For years you gave liberty some strength and slavery some strength, and you continued to keep them about even until—you know the result. You have had a policy of tariff and a policy of free trade ingrafted upon your industrial system. You must accept one or the other. One or the other of those systems must prevail, for both cannot succeed.

"It is impossible for you to ship your corn or your wheat to any extent to France or to England. To-day the price of wheat in France is \$1 a bushel; in England \$1.09. If you are willing to sell your wheat for 80 cents, they will sell it for 75 cents. The people engaged in those countries in that occupation must live by it, and if they cannot live by it at a high price, they will live by it at a lower price; so that the agricultural interests of this country must depend for their success upon the markets which we have within our own limits and upon our border.*

"There were imported last year eight hundred thousand boxes, forty

thousand tons, of iron, at a cost of \$12,000,000 to the consumers of this country. That money goes for the payment of the industry, the manufacturing skill, the commerce, and all the appurtenances of trade in other countries. I challenge contradiction to the position I take, that the result of this system has so operated to check the growth of the manufacturing interests of this country in that respect (and that one article is a representative) as to drive out its competition, to occupy its field, and then extort from the consumptive abilities of the country this enormous profit. My experience is that it is far better to do business with, and to legislate for a people and among a people that are prosperous, happy, and enjoy life, liberty, and happiness, than it is among a people who occupy the reverse position.

“Mr. President, if I can ever see the time when the New England system of industry becomes the system of every State in the Union, it will be the happiest day of my life; and whatever aid it may be in my power to give, I shall always be ready to extend, and to devote my time and attention to that purpose. I desire that, because I desire to extend the prosperity of my own State and section, and to introduce that prosperity into every other State of this Union. I know the benefit that it confers upon the people in whose limits those interests are carried on and protected. I know that every interest of that people is made better; that their morals, their religion, their education, their desire to occupy higher grounds and positions in life, everything that goes to enoble men and women receives a start from these industrial occupations; and it is because of that reason, among others, that I would, if it was in my power, push every manufacturing and mechanical interest of New England into the western and middle States that they might enjoy the benefits and the strength which those States are receiving to-day. I desire that New England should introduce into her system occupations and businesses that would produce the \$234,000,000 of goods that are now brought into this country from abroad. There are fields enough for many New Englands, if properly directed, within this country. If the money which is now permitted to leave our borders were retained in the United States, there is business enough for many New Englands in the production of articles not now known to our country.”

I have made this extract from Mr. Sprague's speech, longer, perhaps, than your space will admit, to refute the copperhead Democratic allegation that New England and Pennsylvania statesmen only desire protection for their own interests, and because he is one of the few members who do not occupy the floor of Congress for buncombe.

Yours, as ever,

D. D. CONE.

*NOTE.—The accuracy of this statement is well established by late English papers, which state that the wheat crop grown in the United Kingdom will amount to about 144,000,000 bushels. The amount required for consumption during the present year will be about 200,000,000 bushels; leaving a deficiency of about 25 per cent., or 56,000,000 bushels, to be supplied from Egypt, Portugal, Russian possessions, United States, and other wheat-growing countries. It may thus be safely calculated that our farmers, if they will sell cheap enough, can furnish Great Britain with about one-fortieth part of the wheat she requires.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Correspondence PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN AND U. S. GAZETTE.

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1866.

My letter of May 19, published in the North American 21st same month, characterising Sir Morton Peto "a magnificent pedler," was rather sharply criticised by a few of his admiring friends in this city. I have nothing to take back, but rather add to his title which should read: "Sir Morton Peto, the magnificent pedler and British dry goods advertising agent."

That Sir Morton should have the proposed addition to his title is fully shown by the following remarks made by Hon. John A. Griswold, on the floor of the House, yesterday:

"Now, what I said was, and I repeat it, that the manufacturers of railroad iron in this country cannot to-day compete with foreign manufacturers. I said further, that a committee had been appointed by the Iron and Steel Association of England to attend to the tariff of this country. I caused to be read at the clerk's desk certain documents, and now, in confirmation, I ask the clerk to read the letter which I send up."

The clerk read as follows:

"UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
"TOWER BUILDING, SOUTH WATER STREET,
"LIVERPOOL, April 19, 1866.

"DEAR SIR—I enclose you the Parliamentary Blue Book on Trade and Navigation. * * * * *

"They are making great efforts on this side to repeal our tariff and admit British goods free of duty. If effort and money can accomplish it, you may rest assured that it will be done. The work is to be done through the agents of foreign houses in Boston and New York. Their plan is to agitate in the western States and to form free-trade associations all over the country.

"If the people were over here, and could see one half that I do, they would open their eyes. No stone will be left unturned to break down our manufactures. Sir Morton Peto has written a book to show that we are only fit to grow produce, and that England should do our manufacturing. This book will be circulated by the thousands in the western States.

"Yours, &c.,

THOMAS H. DUDLEY."

 THE REBEL DEBT.

Parties in this city interested in "Confederate securities" express a confident belief that if the Democratic scheme of the incorporation of the Federal and Confederate debt fails, some of the Southern State governments

may find it to their interest to pay the indebtedness contracted, in their own defence; or, in plain English, hope that the holders of Confederate bonds will yet realize on them. These financiers will need watching for some time to come.

The English, Confederate and Democratic scheme for breaking down our free-labor interests, and providing for the payment of the rebel debt, is respectfully commended to the attention of loyal voters throughout the Union.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

Your yesterday's article upon the proposed change in the Indian Bureau, has created a commotion among the benevolent individuals who endure the task of looking after "*destitute Indians.*"

Your suggestion that "we need a system of regulated economy in all departments of government, and to make one dollar everywhere do the duty of two," doesn't meet the views of the Indian Bureau, their plan being to make five dollars do the duty of one, judging from a statement read in the Senate on the 3d inst. by Senator Sherman, which was as follows:

"On the 1st of July, 1865, when the military authorities ceased to have authority to feed refugee Indians, there was an immense surplus of flour and corn on hand at Fort Gibson, amounting to as much as all that has since been issued to pauper Indians in that country. These stores the commanding officer at Fort Gibson offered to turn over to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at \$8.50 per barrel for flour, and \$2 per bushel for corn. Instead of making this purchase, the Superintendent went to Leavenworth and entered into contract with McDonald, Fuller & Sells, (the son of the Superintendent,) at \$8 per bushel for corn, and \$34 per barrel for flour. This contract was let, as we are informed and believed, without the requisite advertisement, on the pretence that there was not time to advertise. The most of the flour furnished under this contract was sent by steamboat from St. Louis, costing the contractors about \$12 and the Indian Department \$34 per barrel while a large amount of the flour offered by the War Department to the Interior at \$8 per barrel was being shipped down the Arkansas from Fort Gibson to Little Rock. The corn furnished by the contractors under this contract was part bought from the Indians at \$2 per bushel, and part bought of the military authorities at Fort Gibson by one McKee, who is understood to have been the agent and partner of McDonald, Fuller & Sells, at eighteen cents per bushel, and turned over to the Superintendent at \$8 per bushel. The gross amount of these supplies we are unable to state, but are satisfied that it was several hundred thousand dollars; and we have information that it has all or nearly all been paid."

—*Globe*, July 4.

The above is only a portion of the statement which embraced some twenty similar charges of fraud, filed with the Senate Finance Committee.

An appropriation of \$500,000 was pushed through Congress in January last to feed destitute Indians in the south-west. Another appropriation of the same size was stuck in at the last minute by Senator Doolittle to the regular Indian Appropriation bill. It has passed the Senate, and now awaits the action of the House.

I am informed, by those whose honesty and means of obtaining correct information cannot be doubted, that the Indians for whom these appropriations are made do not get 25 per cent. of the amount, and furthermore, do not need anything.

It is high time that this practice at buying flour at \$34 per barrel, and giving it to Indians who raise more grain than they can use, was put a stop to.

With great respect,

D. D. CONE.

NOTE.—While I oppose the appropriation of money for the benefit of contractors, like the above-mentioned, there are a large number of really just Indian claims upon our Treasury that ought to be paid.

Some thirty-five years ago the insatiable demands of the slave oligarchy forced the civilized Indians of Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Tennessee to sell their lands in those States—much of them improved farms—and remove to the tract now known as the Indian Territory.

Our Government contracted to pay a specified sum for their lands, part of which has been paid, and the funds used by the Indians—Choctaws, Chicasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees—to support their schools, which equal any in the South; but a large portion of the indebtedness has never been paid, appropriations for the purpose having been deferred from year to year.

There is no just reason for deferring the payment of this class of really just claims any longer. It is not difficult to discriminate between the just and fraudulent claims: but our Government has, partly through carelessness, and partly through the influence of a most atrocious lobby, paid, for most part, the doubtful claims, leaving the just and undoubted to be deferred from year to year.

There is no justice or reason in this. The unbearable exactions of the lobby "Attorneys" should not be complied with; for their influence upon Congress is decidedly on the decline. We should certainly pay the Indians what we honestly owe them—nothing more is required.

D. D. C.

FROM
THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

MORE ABOUT THE STURDY BEGGARS.

Correspondence of the N. Y. TRIBUNE.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1866.

The appearance of my letter in THE TRIBUNE of January 30, protesting against the gift-book and seedman abuse which has crept under the wings of our Government, created some little commotion among the sturdy beggars; and its publication in *The Hartford Courant*, *The Philadelphia North American*, *The Missouri Democrat*, *The Atchison Free Press*, *The Colorado News*, and *The San Francisco Flag*, carried consternation into the ranks of the enemy.

The abuses flourish, however, and will continue so to do so long as Congress continues to APPROPRIATE money for the purposes of purchasing seeds, printing books, or making clothing even, for a free distribution among the thousands ready to take whatever they can get at others' cost. Several ambitious patriots have expressed a desire for a liberal *appropriation* for the purpose of erecting a huge Government newspaper establishment, the productions of which to be distributed, under frank of members, free to *whoever* might desire a newspaper without the inconvenience of paying for it; another desires a liberal appropriation to buy up the stock of all the Telegraph Companies in the country.

You have often commented upon the enormous amount of money expended in Government printing ; hundreds of thousands of dollars more than necessity requires. Now, while I am in favor of a judicious expenditure of money in public printing, I am entirely opposed to the publication of expensive books for indiscriminate distribution as at present carried on. For instance, the Report of the Census of 1860 is published in four volumes, the last volume being now nearly ready for the binder. These volumes cost, so I am informed by the officer in charge at the Interior Department, about \$12 each, and are circulated free by the tens of thousands. *I have seen these \$12 volumes for sale at paper rag stores in this city at seven cents per pound before they had been from the press a month!* I may almost say that they went direct from the Government press back to the paper-mill. Millions of dollars of the people's money is thus absolutely thrown away.

Another instance is the seedman's division of the Department of Agriculture, the original intention of which was to distribute a few samples of choice seeds of rare production to different parts of the country to introduce and foster the cultivation of new productions, but which has grown into an erroneous abuse, a mere machine for the free distribution of tons and tons of miscellaneous seeds, purchased with the people's money in every direction. I have received 10 packages of these seeds, which I forward to you, as samples, by express, the mails being too much incumbered by franked matter to render it certain you will get them by that conveyance.

Though immense amounts have already been distributed, I see that the Department has a "few more left." A morning paper states that:

"On Wednesday, about 1 o'clock, the first floor of the agricultural seed-room on F Street, between Sixth and Seventh, gave way, letting

down about three tons of seed to the basement. Mr. McDonald, one of the employees, went down with the floor, and received a few slight bruises. The seed being in bags, the damage was only to the building."

An additional appropriation will doubtless be needed to procure a store-house sufficiently strong to hold the "tons of seed" sufficient to supply a constantly increasing demand.

I am well aware that our present Congress is immaculate; but it must bear the sole responsibility of these abuses. So long as that body appropriates the people's money for useless expenditure, so long will the money be thus expended. And in this connection would it not be well to remind that body of wise men that the people are patiently waiting for a slight reduction of the war tax, and a slight increase of import duties on certain productions of foreign labor, foreign food and capital?

D. D. C.



FROM
The Missouri Democrat.

Copperhead, Democratic, and British Interests in the Lobby of Congress—One more blow at the Industrial Interests of the United States—The Grain Interests—Barley and Wheat—The Iron Interest, &c.

Special correspondence of THE MISSOURI DEMOCRAT.

OFFICE UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION,
WASHINGTON, April 17, 1866.

EDITORS MISSOURI DEMOCRAT—The combined British Copperhead and “late Confederate” interests, so strongly represented in the lobby of Congress, has made another demand, backed up by the usual arguments, for the destruction of one more branch of our industrial interest..

Not content with oppressing the Agricultural interest of the United States indirectly, by destroying the farmer’s only good customer, the American manufacturer, the copperhead free-traders now seek to undermine the farming interest directly. Some ten years ago, before the cost of the Democratic rebellion made economy with our people a necessity, our government, under a democratic administration, gave, through the “Reciprocity Treaty,” to Canada, the privilege of supplying the market of this country with nearly all the barley we needed.

The abrogation of the “Reciprocity Treaty” places a tax of fifteen cents per bushel on all *imported foreign grown* unhulled barley, and one cent per pound on the hulled.

This small import tax on foreign grown barley is very much less than the direct and indirect tax our American farmers pay for the support of the Government, on the same product of American growth. Yet small as this is, the democratic copperhead free-trader is vociferous for its repeal.

I have heard it urged here at the Capitol of our country, this seventeenth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-six, that the farmers of the United States could not supply sufficient barley for the use of the people—that our soil is not suitable—we did not understand its cultivation—that a tax of fifteen cents per bushel on foreign grown imported barley would give the farmers of the United States monopoly—that Canadian farmers could grow barley cheaper than Americans, and therefore Congress should admit Canadian barley free of tax. The same copperhead democratic authority also holds that the tax-free and half-naked barbarian of South America can grow wool and furnish wild cattle hides cheaper than the farmers of the United States.

Hence it is, that foreign grown wool imported into this country pays a tax of only about three cents per pound, and hides ten per cent. *ad valorem*; being less than one-fourth the direct and indirect tax paid on the same article of American productions.

What I have written of the three above named articles applies to a majority of the products of American industry. The Republican policy of 1861 has been neutralized by the internal revenue tax, made necessary by the copperhead Democratic rebellion, the *bonded warehouse system*, and kindred inventions of the enemy. It is high time that our Republican Congress should extricate our industrial interests from its present perilous position.

We cannot remain as we are—must go backward

or forward. The American farmer must rely mainly on the home market, and when we foster and protect that, the farmer is protected. A few million bushels of grain can of course be exported annually to Europe to make out a deficiency. Late English papers state that the wheat crop of the Kingdom of Great Britain will amount to about 144,000,000 bushels.

The amount required for consumption during the present year will be about 200,000,000 bushels; leaving a deficiency of about 25 per cent., or some 56,000,000 bushels to be supplied from Egypt, Russian Possessions, Portugal, *United States, and other wheat growing countries.*

It may thus be safely calculated that our farmers, if they will sell cheap enough, can furnish Great Britain with about *one-fortieth* part of the grain she requires.

So much for the often repeated buncombe declaration that "our boundless prairies will furnish food for the world." The last word to be pronounced with a roll of the tongue, and a flourish of the uplifted right hand.

"Our boundless prairies" may be able to furnish food for the world. But supposing the world don't want to buy? The American farmer will then, as heretofore, be obliged to look mainly to a home market, and the sooner we realize this truth the better.

Yours, as ever,

D. D. CONE.

NOTE.—Though barley occupies a subordinate position in American agriculture, it nevertheless brings a higher price per pound than wheat, and is one of the most profitable products of the soil. The production of it in the country should therefore be encouraged rather than depressed. Millions of bushels are annually imported that should be raised at home.

There has been a very rapid increase in the production of barley. In 1850, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, and Nebraska, produced only 717,168 bushels. In ten years the production was increased to 4,472,000 bushels; and the present production cannot be less than six million bushels annually in the above-mentioned States alone. The increase in some of the States has been over one hundred per cent. since 1856.

Barley can be and is raised in every State in the Union in sufficient quantities to supply the domestic demand, free traders to the contrary notwithstanding.

FROM WASHINGTON.

OFFICE UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION,

WASHINGTON, January 3, 1866.

Correspondence of the MISSOURI DEMOCRAT.

It is to be hoped that Congress will pay due attention to the imperative needs of the industrial interests of the country. If we are to be saved from a financial crash, ten fold worse than that of 1857, prompt and thorough action is requisite.

I understand certain Western Members of Congress have expressed a determination to oppose any alterations in the tariff likely to secure home industry against the effects of foreign competition.

Now I beg leave to suggest that the "yeas and nays" upon these questions, as they are taken, be carefully noted and spread before the people: and, further, to assure Western Members of Congress that the market for Western farm produce is not, at the present time, by any means too good, for I learn from the *Galena (Illinois) Gazette* that corn is again being used as fuel in preference to sending it four thousand miles to a foreign market. I quote from the *Gazette* as follows:

"We understand that many of the people of Warren and other towns, are using corn for fuel. We had a conversation with an intelligent gentleman who has been burning it, and who considers it much cheaper than wood. Ears of corn can be bought for ten cents per bushel, by measure, and seventy bushels, worth seven dollars, will measure a cord. A cord of wood, including sawing, costs nine dollars and fifty cents, which is two dollars and fifty cents more than the cost of corn, besides the fact that corn produces more heat than wood. If these statements are true (and we have no reason to doubt them) there is no fuel more economical than corn. The crop of corn this year is far beyond the demand."

I see by the *Iron Age* that the importation of foreign goods into New York alone for some months past, has been at the rate of \$370,000,000 per annum.

I apprehend that if a small moiety of these goods had been manufactured in the United States, Illinois farmers might have done better with their corn than to burn even the smallest part of it.

With great respect,

D. D. CONE.

FROM

The Iron Age.

Special Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, February, 18, 1867.

In the last IRON AGE you announce that :

“The Union Pacific Railroad Company, East Division, disclaim any connection with the movement to induce Congress to rescind the provision of the law requiring the Pacific Railroad to use American iron, considering not only that they are bound in good faith to adhere to this provision of the contract, but that the English rails now imported to this country are not such as they would wish, even if they had power to use them, in the construction of the great continental highway, which, being national in its location and management, should be built exclusively of national materials.”

You accompany the above statement with the expression of a hope that it might be true. You certainly might have made the expression much stronger, and gone further, by stating that the managers of the Union Pacific Eastern Division were among the firmest and best friends of the industrial interests of our country, as will be seen by the following petition :

To the Finance Committee of the Senate of the United States :

We, the undersigned, respectfully represent—

1. That in our opinion it is highly important for the interests of American railroad companies, and the builders and users of American machinery, *that the business of manufacturing Bessemer steel rails axles, boiler-plate, forgings, &c., in this country should be commenced and carried to such an extent that, in case of war with a foreign power or other contingency, we may be capable of supplying our whole domestic demand.*

2. That previous to the present extensive preparations in this country for producing Bessemer steel rails, forgings, &c., foreign agents charged \$150 per ton in gold for the same rails that they reduced to \$110 per ton in gold when they became aware that such preparations were being made; thus showing the necessity for a home supply, in order that the foreign article may be obtained at a reasonable rate.

3. That we are credibly informed that large works for manufacturing Bessemer steel for rails, forgings, &c., are in course of erection at Troy, New York; Harrisburg and Chester, Pennsylvania; Cleveland, Ohio, and Detroit, Michigan; and that capable gentlemen are awaiting the result of the present action on the tariff bill before beginning to build works of the

same kind already planned, at Mott Haven, New York: Pittsburgh, Johnstown, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Baltimore, Maryland: Cincinnati, Ohio; and St. Louis, Missouri: which works, if built, will more than supply the present domestic demand.

Now, therefore, we respectfully ask that the House bill placing two and a half cents per pound duty on steel rails, and three and four cents per pound on other articles of Bessemer steel of more difficult manufacture, be sustained, and that all steel rails contracted for previous to July 1, 1866, be permitted to enter the country at the present duty of 45 per cent. *ad valorem*.

J. EDGAR THOMSON, *President Pennsylvania Railroad Co., &c.*
 THOS. A. SCOTT, *Vice President Pennsylvania Railroad Co., &c.*
 H. J. LOMBAERT, *Vice President Pennsylvania Railroad Co., &c.*
 M. B. HICKMAN, *Pres. West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Co.*
 J. D. PERRY, *President Union Pacific Railway Co., E. D.*
 WM. J. PALMER, *Treasurer Union Pacific Railway Co., E. D.*
 JOHN TUCKER, *Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Co.*
 JAY COOKE, *Banker.*
 WM. B. BIDDLE, *Vice President Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.*
 S. P. ELY, *of Marquette and Bay de Noquette Railroad, Mich.*
 EDW. MILLER, *of Warren and Franklin Railroad.*
 S. M. FELTON, *Pres. Phila. and Balt. Central, Delaware, and Chester Creek R. R. Cos.*
 NATHL. THAYER, *Director of Michigan Central.*
 ISAAC HINCKLEY, *Pres. Phila., Wilmington and Balt. R. R. Co.*
 ERASTUS CORNING, *of New York Central Railroad Co., &c.*
 W. W. LONGSTRETH, *President Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.*
 FREDK. FRAILEY, *President Schuylkill Navigation Co.*
 CHAS. E. SMITH, *President Reading Railroad Co., &c.*
 J. GREGORY SMITH, *President Vermont Central Railroad Co., &c.*
 J. D. CAMERON, *President Northern Central Railroad Co.*
 R. N. RICE, *General Superintendent Michigan Central Railroad Co.*
 J. B. SUTHERLAND, *Michigan Central Railroad Co.*

The readers of THE IRON AGE are of course well aware that English rails of the first quality—equal to our American rails—cannot be delivered at any point in the United States for a less price than those of American manufacture. But *inferior* Welch rails can, of course, sell in our markets *at lower rates per ton* than *best quality* American rails: and this fact is taken advantage of by the free traders who persist in drawing comparisons between the prices of the two articles without taking into consideration the difference in quality.

I recently saw, in Missouri, a remarkable practical illustration of the difference between English and American rails.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad was some years since furnished with English rails; and at the same

time the south-west extension, or Platte Country road, was laid with rails manufactured by Messrs. Wood, Morrell & Co., of the Cambria Iron Works, at Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

The same trains have gone over both roads, and, if anything, the American rails have been subjected to the most severe wear and tear; notwithstanding which they are as sound as when put down, while the English rails are so shattered as to be useless, and are being replaced with new.

My attention being particularly called to this subject, I took especial pains to observe, from the rear end of the train, the condition of the rails on both roads. I saw that the American rails, though worn smooth as with a file, were as sound as when they came from the mill. In the whole forty miles, a careful examination discovered no more than five slightly splintered rails, the remainder being perfectly sound, though much worn. The English rails were, on the other hand, so badly splintered as to be nearly useless, and were being rapidly replaced with new.

I did not learn the relative first cost of the plant stock of the two roads, but presume the English rails were purchased for a few dollars less per ton, and perhaps on long credit; but the question seemed settled in that portion of the country, at least, as to the relative cost of rails, in the long run, in favor of those manufactured in American mills, with American capital, by American mechanics, fed upon American food.

The Union Pacific Railway Company, Eastern Division, having received a thirty years' loan from the Government of \$16,000 per mile for a portion of its road, to aid its construction, on condition that none but American iron is used, have shown no disposition to evade any portion of the contract, but, on the contrary, have gone beyond, and done more and better than has been required.

The Government regulation provides that American rails of at least fifty pounds weight to the yard shall be used. The company use fifty-six pounds per yard rails, or some ten tons per mile of American rails, *more* even than their contract requires, which I submit does not look much like evasion.

I shall not in this letter trespass upon your space by fixing the responsibility of the Sherman amendment, having shown that the eminent railway managers named in this are true friends of all our industrial interests. I leave it for others to find the guilty ones. I will, however, state that, of all the amendments offered, Mr. Sherman's is the most incomprehensible, and the reasons urged are very strange, when you consider by whom they were advanced.

Certain railway corporations had received aid from the National Treasury on the express condition that the roads should be built of American iron.

Senator Sherman offers an amendment to a revenue bill, permitting these corporations to repudiate the latter portion of the contract, as follows:

"And any person or corporation may import and use railroad iron at any time within two years, upon paying the duties imposed by law, any provision in any act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding."

In support of this astounding proposal, Senator Sherman said:

"This applies solely to the Southern Pacific Railroad, and perhaps one or two other railroads authorized by the United States. The number of miles to be built next year, according to the estimates submitted to us, is from five to six hundred miles on the different branches of this road: some say seven hundred, there being three branches of the road now being constructed, and the one on the Pacific slope, making four branches. The probable number of miles will be about five hundred. I estimate at the rate of about one hundred tons of iron to the mile, sixty pounds to the yard, and that will make the requirements of these roads fifty thousand tons. If this should be imported it will yield us a revenue of over seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

"As I stated last night, the mills of this country cannot supply all that is desired. Large quantities are now imported and laid down within 50 miles of the rolling-mills. The present price of railroad iron, delivered on ship-board, abroad is between five and six pounds per ton, or less than thirty dollars. The present price of American iron is \$85 per ton. The restriction on the Union Pacific Railroad compels them to take all their

iron from the interior of Pennsylvania and the Atlantic slope, and thence around by Cape Horn to California. So with the branch roads; they are required to carry their iron by railroad transportation from the place of manufacture across the continent, now four hundred miles west of Omaha, while the English railroad iron can be brought in steam vessels and be landed at Omaha. The difference in cost to the railroad company will be considerable, while the revenue derived from this iron, if imported, will be about three-quarters of a million dollars. The rolling-mills will not be materially injured, because they are all kept in full blast, and if a dozen more were constructed they would have enough to do to supply the railroads of the United States with iron.

"I think these are the only facts that bear upon it. I always thought the restriction a severe one, but just now it is oppressive. If suspended for two years, by that time we may have rolling-mills enough in this country to supply the demand for railroad iron. So far as my State is concerned, we are not at all interested in the matter; the roads are far beyond our reach; but I feel that it is just and right to this road, in which the United States have so large an interest, that this restriction should be removed.

"The amendment to the amendment was agreed to."

This speech of Mr. Sherman's is not only remarkable for what it contains, but for its omissions. He omits to state that fifty thousand tons of American iron will yield the National Treasury more revenue than the same amount of English iron. He omits to state that the mills of this country can supply all the iron needed; that Pittsburgh, Pa., is nearer Omaha, Nebraska, than any port in England—all the way water transportation, at that.

The Committee of Ways and Means have, very properly, stricken out the amendment. It will, however, bear watching, that it don't get in again.

D. D. C.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Special correspondence of THE IRON AGE.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1865.

In 1857-8, the writer of this was engaged in the publication of the only daily newspaper between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains that took sufficient interest in the national policy to publish Mr. Henry C. Carey's admirable and unanswerable "*Letters to the President.*"

Since that period, the western people and press have, to some extent, learned by costly experience, the utter fallacy of the shopkeeper's science.

The Buffalo *Express*, of recent date, states that—

"The standard of the value of a man's labor should, at least, be so established as to secure, with due economy, a decent livelihood for himself and those dependent upon him for support. In this country the reward of industry and toil should never fall below this point—indeed it cannot, without violating the fundamental law of our national existence which recognizes every man, woman, and child as entitled to the inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In this country, the rewards of labor should be such as to elevate rather than depress the condition of the laboring classes. They are endowed with the rights of citizenship, and hence should have the means of education for themselves and their children, so that they may exercise those rights with intelligence. This, to the laboring man, can come only of the fruits of his toil, and if they are stinted, then he is doomed to poverty, if not to absolute want and starvation. He has not the means from his industry to educate his children, or clothe them so that they can decently appear in the street, at church, or anywhere else, where the better influences will reach them and inspire them with feelings of self respect."

The New York *Evening Post* will of course be greatly shocked at this doctrine, for it has advocated in season and out of season, with a persistency worthy of a better cause, a policy that has been found, by repeated costly experiment, to throw a large portion of our laboring classes out of employment, reduce the remainder to abject poverty, bring millions of capital, invested in manufactories, into the Sheriff's hands; and only to enrich a few office-holding money-lending aristocrats in this country and England.

The Chicago *Republican* has the following article, and many more equally sound:

"These manufacturers, it is said, are getting well paid. To sit down and cry monopoly over this were but the peevish complaint of a weak child. Better go to work, with western swiftness and energy, and build our own mills. The field is open, the profits ready for whoever works for them: and if those profits are excessive, fair competition will bring them to a proper level.

"The bringing of gold toward par value to pave the way for specie payments, will call for a readjustment of taxes and tariffs, so that some of our manufactures shall be fairly protected, and all branches of our home industry experience a common prosperity. The introduction of manufactures into the west is of more importance than many suppose. In 1860, our factories and shops employed 222,325 persons, and produced articles to the amount of \$390,411,000. With a wise policy of government, and with good, strong western work, such as is shown is the movement to build us

a woolen mill with \$1,000,000 capital in Chicago, we can show the benefit of cheap food, and coal, and wool at our own doors, and illustrate anew the statement that manufactures must come where food and fuel are most abundant, *by leading manufacturers to come among us from the seaboard and from across the ocean.*"

Looking further West, I find in the *Nemaha Courier*, the only pioneer newspaper in Kansas that has not changed hands, the following:

"When a free trade tariff is in force here, the flood of foreign goods pouring into the country is so great, and prices are so low that the American manufacturer cannot compete successfully with his foreign pauper-labor rivals. Being unable to go on, he stops his factory, and every man in his employ is idle, and the *American farmer's* best market is thus destroyed; for it is well known that 100,000 employed American mechanics furnish a larger and better market for the American farmer than the whole of Europe.

"With unemployed mechanics and manufacturing operatives, the case is different, being thrown out of employment by the copperhead policy of free trade, they crowd into other avenues of employment, where, instead of being the American farmer's best customer, they become competitors."

I could fill volumes with extracts like the above quoted; indeed, I find that a good portion of the Western Republican press are unanimous in their intelligent and patriotic determination to support the *national protective policy*.

With great respect,

D. D. C.



FROM THE
Kansas Gazette.

D. D. & J. P. CONE,] Sept. 12, 1857. [PUBLISHERS.

From the KANSAS GAZETTE, November 14, 1857.

THE MONEY STRINGENCY.

When, in 1846, Robt. J. Walker and other political bankrupts and gamblers of the Democratic party, in conjunction with the slave breeders of the South, inaugurated the present free trade policy of government, by which the laws protecting American productions and home manufactures were repealed and all our industrial interests and laboring classes were thrown in direct competition with the manufactures of England and the old world, it was trumpeted far and wide as a most wise and beneficent measure. Although, as we have said, it was accomplished by a union of reckless and unprincipled Northern Democratic doughfaces and the raw material and slave producers of the South, in utter disregard of the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the great free North and West, yet it was a "Democratic" measure, and the people must throw up their hats for it, and sing praises to the greatness and wisdom of its originators. But what has been the result of this policy? Why in 10 years, notwithstanding the lucky discovery of California, by which hundreds of millions of dollars have flowed in the United States, this policy has depressed our finances and almost ruined the country, has taken all the money to buy the cheaply manufactured articles of Europe, and crushed

and crippled our manufacturing and other industrial interests by putting them on an unequal footing and an unfair competition with the labor of Europe, as every one knows who is acquainted with the great comparative cheapness of living and laboring in the old world. This is the main or principal cause of all this depression and panic, and the exceedingly hard times among all classes ; and, until we have a change of government—until we put down and clear out the present ruling Democratic party, these hard times will continue and increase. In addition to the principal cause for this state of things which we have just adduced, there is still another, an additional reason for this stringent state of the money market and stagnation of industrial pursuits, something which has aided very materially in bringing about this state of things. It is the reckless and profligate manner in which the affairs of our Government are administered and conducted under the auspices of the Democratic party.

The dishonesty, stealing, and plundering of Democratic office-holders and the corruption and extravagance of the Government expenditures has had, no doubt, very much to do in bringing about this deplorable state of affairs in our country. This dishonesty, corruption, and extravagance has reached an extent that is truly alarming. The amount now a days annually expended by the administration for corrupt party purposes is enormous, and the money now stolen yearly by the officials of our Government is enough to enrich a nation. These are facts that cannot be evaded or controverted, and as one of the independent press of the country we are bound to record them.

Our people will learn by and by who are the real friends of home industry and American productions, and until they have been tried in the fire of affliction and learned by experience—bitter though it be—we are

willing to wait for the overthrow of the Democratic party and an entire change of the policy of the Government; nothing else can correct the abuses of its administration.

FROM BOSTON.

Special Correspondence of the KANSAS GAZETTE.

Boston, August 30, 1858.

The times are not as hard in Boston as throughout the West. They can live longer on their capital in the cities because there is more of it; but nine tenths of the business men of Boston are not, and have not for the last year, been paying expenses. This I know to be a fact.

A Boston paper recently published an article proving this city to be thirty-eight million dollars (\$38,000,000) poorer than a year ago.

The same journal attributes this loss to the *Anti Slavery* Agitation prevalent throughout the country.

Of course the *Pro Slavery* Agitation was not taken into consideration by that very impartial journalist.

The party that destroys five *printing establishments*, and several small towns in one Territory of our Union, during the past twenty months, cannot be called to an account for Agitation! Oh, no!

Another Boston wiseacre attributes the present *contraction* of business to an undue *expansion* of crinolines—another to the open winter of 1857-58—while large numbers know the true cause, viz: That policy which sends three dollars out of the country for every two it brings in; the policy that discriminates against the labor and capital of our own country; a policy inaugurated and sustained by the so-called “National Democracy.”

D. D. CONE.

FROM THE
Nebraska, Kansas, Courier.
(Formerly the Kansas Gazette.)

D. D. & J. P. CONE,]

March 14, 1867.

[PUBLISHERS.

From THE COURIER of March 14, 1867.

**THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE ON THE TARIFF
QUESTION.**

We have for ten years past endeavored to impress upon the minds of our readers the necessity of protecting American industry in our own markets against a ruinous competition with the pauper labor system of the old world.

It is, therefore, gratifying to find our Legislature promptly sustaining the principles we have so long labored to popularize.

Early in the session, Mr. McFarland, a Democratic Senator from Leavenworth, introduced resolutions instructing our delegates in Congress to favor a system of low tariffs. They were referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, of which Dr. John W. Scott, of Iola, Allen County, is Chairman, who made the following report:

“The resolution contains two propositions. 1st. That it is the duty of our members in Congress to encourage a system of free trade or low tariffs on foreign goods. 2d. That it is their duty to protect the agricultural interests of the West.

“These propositions the committee regard as essentially inconsistent. While it is clearly the duty of our Representatives to protect the agricultural interests of the West, it is equally evident that this cannot be done by any system of free trade or low tariffs. On the contrary, no surer means could be adopted to depress and utterly destroy the prosperity of Kansas and the other great agricultural States of the West. The first necessity of these States is a market for their surplus products, and this can only be furnished to any considerable extent by a manufacturing

population, either in America or Europe. But the nearer this market is to the producer the greater are his profits, inasmuch as he reaps to a large extent the benefits of the diminished cost of transportation.

"It must be clear, then, that the system of free trade which inevitably tends to build up the manufacturing interests of Europe at the expense of those of America, and so places an ocean between the producer and consumer, must impoverish the former while it enriches the latter.

"The experience of the world proves this. Manufacturing nations are always rich, exclusively agricultural nations are always poor, and the latter invariably pay tribute to the former. That country which would be really free and independent must foster and encourage every branch of its domestic industry by protecting them against ruinous competition from abroad.

"In the opinion, therefore, of your committee, the true policy of America is to adopt such a system of discriminating and protective tariffs as shall transfer the skilled operatives of the Old World to the factories of the New, build up manufacturing establishments, not only in New England, but in every town and village in the land, and so, bringing the producer and consumer face to face, insure the highest prosperity to both.

"They therefore recommend that the first section of the resolution be amended as follows: Strike out all after the word 'encourage,' and insert American manufactures and protect them against the ruinous competition of foreign nations, and that so amended it be passed."

The resolution as amended and passed, is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of our members in Congress to encourage American manufactures, and *protect* them against the ruinous competition of foreign nations. And that it is their duty to protect the agricultural interests of the West."

We hope our Congressional delegates will act promptly in this business.

There need be no misunderstanding in the matter: The report and resolutions are explicit, and show how both the manufacturing and agricultural interests are encouraged and protected by the same policy. There is no antagonism between the two interests; what protects one protects both.

Our members certainly need no more lessons from the *Courier*.

NOTE.—The *Iron Age* of March 28, republishes the above with the following comments: "We take the above from the *Kansas Courier*, a journal that faithfully and steadily labors in that far off land of hope and promise for the protection and advancement of American industry. It shows that in the growing States of the West there are, after all, those, who understand the true interests of the people on this subject. Surely the wealthy and enlightened people of the East, who know the value and necessity of circulating and upholding the principles of *American* protection should sustain such missionaries of their doctrines at the West."

FROM THE COURIER OF FEB. 28, 1867.

THE COST OF PAPER.

It is not often that we find the New York *Tribune* and *Herald* in agreement upon any subject whatever. But in regard to the cost of printing paper, the views of both journals are so sound and in strict accordance with plain common sense, and so plainly in the interest of both newspaper proprietors and subscribers, that we reproduce them. The New York *Tribune* says :

"A Western journal—which seems unable to comprehend any other than a sordid motive for any human act—calculates that the *Tribune* lost \$83,000 during 1866 by the existing duty (20 per cent.) on printing paper, which (it says) would have been abolished by Congress but for *our* opposition. Then, we say, we prevented Congress, at our own cost, from doing a great wrong to an important interest and to American labor. We cannot see how a duty of 20 per cent. can plausibly be stigmatized as prohibitory or oppressive; and we insist that it would be unjust and unpatriotic to require our paper-makers to pay income and other heavy taxes, yet compete in open markets with foreigners who bear much lighter burdens. Much of our paper, for example, is manufactured at Niagara Falls, but on the American side. Admit foreign paper free of duty, and the makers would almost inevitably be driven across the river to avoid the heavy imposts they now pay on Bleaching Powders, &c., and to escape the general burdens imposed on our people by the late war. There may be *Tribunes* which would regard this with indifference, but this one is of another sort.

"That a little paper might be imported cheaper, in the absence of any duty, than it is now afforded by American paper-makers, we know; but it by no means follows that a great deal might be. On the contrary, were half the paper used in this country imported, we believe the foreign price would thereby be carried up to the present American standard.

"Our American paper-makers have been making large profits for the last three or four years—making them under a twenty per cent. tariff. Had the duty been forty or fifty per cent. with no fear of its reduction, we believe the price of paper would have long since been cheapened by the erection of new mills or the enlargement of old ones. But the clamor for the free importation of paper has kept men of enterprise from risking their means in a business which seemed so precarious; and thus the price of paper has been kept up by a deficiency in the home supply. We greatly need cheaper paper; but we believe the road to it lies through protection, not free trade."

Upon the same subject the New York *Herald* has the following settler :

"There is a movement on foot to induce Congress to repeal the duty on paper. This movement originates out West, and with the editors of Republican papers. Some time ago a number of these editors, principally of Chicago and St. Louis papers, met and made their arrangements in the usual way to influence Congress on this subject. They adopted resolutions, appointed committees, delegates, and so on. Their resolutions denounced

the duty as onerous to publishers and not beneficial to the Treasury ; and their committees and delegates were sent around to influential persons, and in all ways to make as much outside pressure as possible. We have been visited on the subject, and were at first glance disposed to aid in the movement, but on a little reflection, we are opposed to the whole thing. We are in favor of the duty, and if Congress is disposed to increase it to one hundred or even five hundred per cent. it will be quite agreeable to us.

"In our opinion, the Western editors look at this subject through a pinhole, and, consequently, only see a very small part of it. They never consider the subject in any light save that of their own particular interest, and, consequently, they do not understand it at all: they see that the price of paper is high, and they put down their heads and rush at the duty, which they suppose to be the cause: but they rush in the wrong direction. The high price of paper is not in consequence of the duty, and an import duty cannot have any but the most temporary influence on that price. Import duties cannot have any permanent effect on articles that can be produced here of a satisfactory quality. If an article can be made here as well as in foreign countries, heavy import duties will only affect the place where it is made. Import duties on such articles merely stimulate domestic manufacture. But, says the man who looks through the pinhole, import duties also protect domestic manufacture, and the high duty that makes the imported article dearer, also makes the domestic article bring a higher price. This is not true. Import duties give the market to the domestic product, and the price of the domestic product is regulated not by that fact, but by demand and competition. If the price of paper is very high, and the demand is great, paper manufactories will spring abundantly into existence wherever capital seeks investment, and prices will find their natural level."

It is astonishing that paper consumers cannot see that the high price of the article is caused by the excessive internal revenue tax, and that the only way to lower it, is to encourage the production in this country, by lowering the tax on home production, and increasing it on foreign, leaving it for *home competition* to keep the price down to living rates.

In 1848-9 our British enemies sent to the United States some 200,000 tons of iron at \$40 per ton, or \$10 per ton less than American manufacturers could make it, making an *apparent* saving to our iron consumers, of \$2,000,000.

In one year nearly all American iron manufactories were killed off, and from 1850 to 1854, inclusive, the British, having a monopoly, charged American consumers \$80 per ton for 1,200,000 tons, so that the American consumers, in order to save \$2,000,000, ruined their own manufactures, and afterwards paid the British

\$34,000,000 more for iron than the American manufacturer would gladly have furnished it for. To say nothing of the destruction of the market for agricultural products caused by stopping furnaces, &c.

The leading railroad men throughout the Union, profiting by such experience, have accordingly recently petitioned Congress to increase the duty on all kinds of railway iron.

Manifestly, then, it is the interest of the consumers of paper to use every possible means to increase the production of it in this country. Competition will keep the price at the lowest living rates.

THE BEST PLAN.

Hon. Stephen Colwell, of Philadelphia, who is perhaps better acquainted with our industrial interests and the protective policy in all its details than any person now living, suggests the idea of a sliding scale, which, we think, is the most judicious recommendation yet made on this subject. It is to fix a fair rate of duties sufficiently protective while they are not prohibitory, and then to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, whenever the exportations do not exceed the importations, say 8 or 10 per cent., (exclusive of coin,) to increase the rates of duties, say 15 per cent., until the exportations exceed the importations, say 8 or 10 per cent. This would obviate any disturbing legislation by Congress, and would prove to be an effectual check against excessive importations, and thus keep our proportion of coin in the country.

This plan will somewhat abridge the power of the Secretary of the Treasury ; but it is none the worse for that.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Hard Times—Reports from all parts of the Union—The cause—High Taxes on Home Industry, and low Taxes on Foreign, &c.

Special correspondence of THE COURIER.

OFFICE UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION,

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25, 1867.

Members of Congress, as a general thing, have little or no time to read or give the business of legislation much thought.

In order to get any subject before many of these gentlemen, engrossed as they are in looking after their own re-nominations, re-elections and political chicanery, generally, it must be brief and to the point.

I beg, therefore, to present a few facts demanding immediate attention.

The New York correspondent of the *Boston Journal* writes, under date of 31st ultimo, thus :

"All kinds of business is dull. Young men are pouring by hundreds into New York for employment, only to swell the rank of the thousands who have nothing to do. Discharges from stores, factories, and warehouses are taking place every day. It bears, especially, hard on laboring people, on mechanics, the better class of workmen, sewing women and girls, who just live under the best of circumstances. Heart rending instances of suffering and want are detailed daily. Those who make their rounds among the homes of the lowly recite touching cases of want among the honest poor, who would be glad to earn a living if they could."

The Nashua, Iowa, correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat* writes, under date of 9th inst., thus :

"Hard times are now the absorbing topic in this part of the country. The reasons assigned are numberless; the last crop being unusually light, and pork exceedingly low, farmers realize but little from their year's labor. Therefore, their debts in many cases cannot be paid, and business of all kinds has dropped off very much."

The Pittsburg *Commercial*, of the 9th instant, states that :

"We understand that at a conference of the members of the Pittsburg Iron Association, it was unanimously agreed that there was nothing to justify a resumption of operation by the mills at present."

The *Iron Age* of the 14th instant, states that :

“Already manufactures of every kind wait upon the action of Congress in regard to the tariff, and upon that action depends whether we shall have a restoration of healthy vigorous time, or a trade of universal and disastrous depression.”

I suppose we should never weary of well doing. But I really tire of proving, over and over again, the fact that our hard times are attributable solely to *excessive* importations of iron, steel, wool, cloth, wheat, barley, and other products of foreign labor and capital ; and paying therefor money or bonds which should be retained at home.

The Free Press, of Detroit, states that 28,000 bushels of wheat, and 53,900 bushels of barley were imported into that city alone, during the month of October last, all of which must be paid for in gold that should have been distributed among the tax paying farmers of the United States.

For two years past, our every industrial interest has been struggling, overtaxed, against an under taxed foreign competition.

For two years past, Congress has persistently discriminated against American labor and capital in our own markets, all the while protesting that the majority of that body was all right.

For two years past, have an over taxed people waited for Congress to give them an equal chance in their own markets with foreign competitors ; but in vain.

It will not answer longer to plead the “President’s policy” in the premises. Congress has opposed the people’s policy with as much or more determination than it has the President’s.

Nor will it answer for Congress to plead ignorance, as they often do, of our industrial interest’s needs.

The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means,

in a recent speech, thus admits the pressing necessity of immediate action.

"If there are any gentlemen who disbelieve the recitals concerning idle factories, forge furnaces, and foundries, and who think we are still on the top wave of prosperity, I invite them to look at the comparative returns of some of our principal railroads, to the decline in the commerce of our canals, to our diminished export trade in cattle, horses, hogs, beef, butter, cotton, and manufacture of cotton, wool, iron, copper, and brass, together with numerous other articles. This exposition, of which I have the details, but which I shall not, unless compelled to do so, place upon record."

It is about time for the people to pass judgment upon their unfaithful public servants. The Republicans of Connecticut and New Hampshire have made a beginning by discarding nearly every member in both houses, *having, with but two exceptions, refused to renominate any of their present members.* It is hoped that other States will follow an example so worthy.

It is not, however, necessary that, because a portion of our Republican members have proved themselves utterly unworthy, we should rush into the embraces of the copperheads; though the course of those members who pay more attention to private Congressional jobbing than to the public welfare, will have a tendency to bring about that result.

There are altogether too many jobbing politicians in Congress; they should be exchanged for statesmen as soon as possible, or the days of the Republican party are numbered.

D. D. C.

FROM THE
San Francisco American Flag.

Special Correspondence.

OFFICE UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATION,

WASHINGTON, August 18, 1865.

Movements founded principally on the idea of charity, are being made in our largest cities, to provide for our returned soldiers.

Men of wealth are exhorted to give employment whether they have it to give or not.

The idea that our returned soldiers might and should be furnished with profitable employment as a right rather than a charity, seems not to be entertained.

Are our manufacturers able to give these returned heroes permanent and profitable employment? If not, why?

An answer can be found by an examination of the condition of our iron interests, as shown by the reports of the members of the Iron and Steel Association, at a meeting in Chicago, in May last. Several interesting statistical reports from members as to the condition of their respective works were presented. In south-eastern Ohio, there were reported four rolling mills, with a capacity of sixteen thousand tons per annum, when running full time, but all idle now; also forty blast furnaces, which can produce sixty thousand tons of charcoal pig metal, will this year produce about thirty

thousand tons. The furnaces on and near the Alleghany river, Pennsylvania, number about twenty, which, when in full blast, made about one hundred thousand tons per annum. Only about eight of these furnaces are now in blast. Out of nine blast furnaces in the State of Missouri, making annually, when in full blast, about forty-five thousand tons, but three are now running. Of four blast furnaces at and near Detroit, one only is in operation. Pittsburg has twenty-five rolling mills, with a capacity of producing eight to nine hundred tons of finished iron and nails daily. These mills are not averaging more than a quarter time at present. There are five blast furnaces in that city, each having a capacity to produce twenty-five tons of pig iron per day; but two of them are now in full blast. The production of bloom iron in the counties bordering on Lake Champlain, New York, is about one-third of that of last year. Many forges are idle, others working on half time. Other reports from districts represented in the Convention showed a similar depressed condition of the iron business in all parts of the country, with hardly an exception.

Let it be remembered in this connection, that one hundred thousand employed workmen in these American manufactories furnish a market for more American farm produce than the entire British nation. With our unemployed workmen, the case is different; they crowd other avenues of employment, especially the agricultural, where, instead of being purchasers, they are competitors.

Since these reports were made, the condition of our iron interests has been continually growing worse. Thousands of laborers have been thrown out of employment, to compete in the labor market with returned soldiers, and to make room for the products of British iron works.

The following extracts from a letter from one of our most distinguished representatives in England, was recently received here. It shows conclusively what efforts are being made to break down our labor market; that the builders of British pirate steamers may do our manufacturing, while our returned heroes are patrolling the streets, asking for employment which our manufacturers cannot furnish:

"Great efforts will now be made by English capitalists and manufacturers to induce us to reduce our tariffs, and permit them to do all our manufacturing. They are beginning to stir this matter already. Our warm personal friends will be put forward to move the matter—such men as John Bright, Goldwin Smith, and others, who have stood by us through this war. I have seen decisive evidence of this purpose here. Personally, we owe them very much, but we may frightfully abominate their free trade principles. They will struggle hard to break down our tariff. See if this does not prove true. There will be a terrible pressure upon the Government."

So it appears that our British "warm personal friends," after having destroyed nearly two-thirds of our manufacturing interests and thrown thousands of our workmen out of employment, are preparing, with the hearty co-operation of our ex-rebel interest, to deal a finishing blow to the remaining third. Save me from such warm personal friends; give me the Lairds in preference.

I notice that Hon. S. S. Cox and several prominent representatives of British Tammany Hall and rebel interests, are announced in a recent money article of the New York Times as having formed a "Free Trade League." The direct tendency, and probably the sole object of the league is to break down our free labor interests, and build up the British and new party interests in this country, in order that demagogues may rule and the late slave aristocracy may revive. It is interesting to observe that though the so-called Southern Confederacy lives only in spirit and enmity to free labor, it has the full sympathy of the capitalists of Great Britain.

It may be asked, is there a demand for the products of our closed manufactories? I answer unhesitatingly there is. We are consuming more foreign goods than we are exporting domestic produce; and to supply the deficiency, this country has been compelled to export an average of \$2,000,000 of gold per week during the past three months.

Now, as to these wealthy English manufacturers, these builders of pirate steamers that have destroyed our commerce, will they furnish employment for our discharged laborers? What part of the \$2,000,000 in gold that we have been so kind as to send them each week will they pay to American workmen, to be paid in turn by them for American food, American cloths, and other American necessities of life? What part will they pay to our returned heroes who parade our streets asking not charity, but work?

I clip the following from a late New York Herald :

"VETERANS ON A STRIKE.—Some one says, that the sadest sight under the sun, is that of a man who wants employment and is not able to get it. Such a sight was presented to our citizens yesterday. A procession of veterans, out of employment and anxious to work, passed our office, with banners bearing appropriate inscriptions. It was a strike of veterans, who aided in putting down the rebellion, not for higher wages nor for higher law, but for work—work. It is the duty of our citizens and of the Government to see that such men have employment, so that their families may not becom pelled to starve or to eat the bread of charity."

It appears, therefore, that we have men willing to work, and money to pay them; but our politicians in Congress adopt a policy that takes the money from the hands of our laborers and sends it to be distributed among the wealthy capitalists and laboring classes of England, and then, with a degree of impudent ignorance, truly astonishing, ask our manufacturers "to give" the returned soldiers employment. Congress was warned last session that its present policy was taking employment and food from the laboring classes,

but it turned a deaf ear, and now closed manufactories, unemployed workmen, and returned soldiers by hundreds of thousands ask in vain for employment, while manufactories owned by builders of British pirates are in full operation.

Let the subject, then, be well ventilated; let the people demand that Congress shall adopt a policy that will give employment to our workmen and capital, in preference to those of any foreign nation, especially those of our natural enemies—the English.

Our workingmen are the consumers of the product of American industry, the supporters of our Government at home and on the battle-field. For these and other reasons they should have the preference.

Yours, for our country as it should be,

D. D. CONE.

CONCLUSION.

These letters, it will be observed, were originally published in leading newspapers, in different States between New England and California, having an aggregate circulation of over half a million copies. The letter dated March 24, 1866, on page 5, had a circulation of over 300,000 copies before the present edition. It will be seen, therefore, that the United Press

Association has done at least, thus far, its full share in the work of spreading the truth in regard to the proper protective policy of our Nation.

In response to this pamphlet, the author has received letters from all parts of the Union; the spirit of which can be seen from the following extracts:

A Northern farmer writes—

“I have received and read your letters on protection. You are doing a good work for the country.”

A Western farmer writes—

“I am extremely anxious that the Republican party shall take the right side on the question of protection, and I shall labor for that. I have your letters and prize them highly. Will be pleased to receive any other documents relating to the subject you may send.”

A Western member of Congress writes—

“I have read with great interest your pamphlet letters, and am rejoiced that active measures are being taken to counteract the miserable heresies of the Free Trade League.”

An eminent banker writes—

“It is evident you have given the subject careful and patient study, and I congratulate you upon the successful use you have made of the information thus acquired.”

A Northern member of Congress writes—

“Permit me to thank you for your effective letter in *The North American* of the 24th inst. Would that you could arouse those specially interested to a consciousness of the dangers by which our manufacturing interests are threatened. You at least, if ruin overtakes us, can feel that you have done your duty.”

Washington of D D Cone

Washington Letters

TO THE

Vermont Journal, Connecticut Courant, N. Y. Tribune, Iron Age,
Buffalo Express, North American & United States Gazette,
Virginia State Journal, North Carolina Union Banner,
Brownlow's Knoxville Whig, S. Carolina Leader,
Missouri Democrat, Nemaha Courier,
Atchison Free Press,
Rocky Mountain News, and San Francisco American Flag,

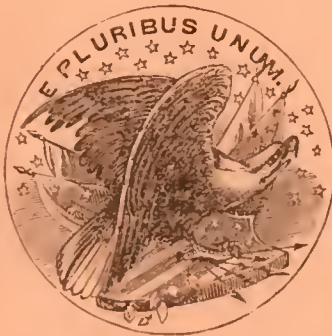
BY

D: D. CONE, President

OF

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